

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
AMERICAN-ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

Washington, D. C.

May 3, 1976

It is a pleasure to be here. I am honored to have the privilege to address you. My staff and I work closely with Morris Amitay, Ken Wollack and others in AIPAC. They are doing a good job and you should be proud of their efforts.

There has been lots of talk lately about the appropriateness of the kind of work that you are engaged in. And much of that talk has been down-right silly and uninformed.

Columnists and editorial writers have warned us about "ethnic lobbying" -- especially in the foreign affairs field. We've heard careless and even reckless things about the powerful "Jewish lobby", the Greek lobby, the Turkish lobby, etc, etc.

I want you to know that I approve of what you are doing. Not only because I happen to agree with the program that you are advocating.

But above all because I think it is good for this country, good for the basic democratic process, that people who have convictions about what American public policy should be take the time to get their fellow Americans and their public officials to understand what they believe and to urge their support.

It will be a sad day for this country when its citizens stop using the precious guarantees in the First Amendment to petition their government.

If oil producers can spend millions of dollars in their lobbying efforts to get special tax breaks -- if sugar companies and shoe companies and clothing manufacturers can seek trade and tariff and quota policies that will benefit them -- if workers can seek favorable labor legislation and doctors can work against national health insurance -- why can't Americans be concerned about the cultural or physical genocide of their co-religionists and relatives in the Soviet Union or in the Middle East?

There's nothing new about lobbying on behalf of causes in foreign places.

It's as American as a hot dog or apple pie.

We are a nation of immigrants even in our two hundredth year. And we care about the lands of our fathers -- be it Poland or Italy or Russia -- be it England or Ireland or Africa.

You have every right to urge the Congress and the Administration to pursue policies that you deem to be correct.

Now, I want to turn to the major topic before us this evening.

\* \* \*

Twenty-eight years ago, Israel's first Prime Minister -- the beloved David Ben Gurion -- proclaimed to the world that the Jewish people have a right to a free and independent nation.

And this new nation -- a land of immigrants and a land of hope -- rekindled the ancient Jewish prayer, to be in Jerusalem again, to return again to the land of their fathers.

Israel reborn was a poor land which awaited the rich in spirit to renew the covenants between a land and its people.

Israel reborn was a small nation surrounded by hostile neighbors who vowed to destroy it at the very moment of inception.

But they failed.

For Israel reborn was not alone in the world.

This small nation was sustained by the sacrifices of world Jewry. Befriended by the world's most powerful democracy -- the United States of America -- it went on to win its struggle for freedom.

Why did Harry Truman use the power and prestige of his great office to befriend the Jewish state and inaugurate a commitment which has been crucial to Israel's security?

Because Harry Truman was a compassionate and moral man with a deep sense of history.

He saw in Israel's rebirth the fulfillment of a biblical prophecy.

He saw in Israel's rebirth the creation of a democracy at a time when democracy was threatened.

And he saw in the creation of Israel relief and haven for a people who had been the victims of fascist tyranny.

There is a lesson for us today in Harry Truman's recognition of the state of Israel.

It was clear from this and other policies that Truman put a premium on support of democracy.

He understood the need for the United States to aid and support those people and nations who chose to form governments guided by democratic principles.

Today, as in Harry Truman's time, the preservation of democracies must be at the top of our foreign policy agenda -- in Israel, in Greece, in Portugal, in Japan and the nations of southern Africa.

As Ambassador Pat Moynihan observed so well in his all too brief tour at the U.N., there are so few real democracies in this world that we can not be indifferent to their needs and their principles.

Within the limits of our resources and with our security objectives clearly defined, democracies merit the support of America.

For our democratic heritage is shared by Israel. Our system of liberty and equality gives Israel its national vitality. And America's love for freedom is a cornerstone of Israel's independence.

These values are the heritage of a democratic Israel. They are the values of our nation as well. And whether here in America or in Israel, we must stand for their preservation and protection.

We must never forget Israel's claim to moral right based in its strong democratic institutions.

Jews around the world have recently celebrated Passover -- a festival of thanksgiving and freedom. We must now look ahead and ask:

Will Israel be free at next year's Passover?

Will Israel be free on its fiftieth anniversary and in the years beyond?

To all Americans who believe in freedom, cherish it and who will sacrifice to preserve it, the answer must be YES.

But let us understand that preserving Israel's freedom will not be an easy task.

Today Israel celebrates its independence at a time of uncertainty over the true intentions of its neighbors, at a time of diplomatic isolation, and at a time of great economic hardship.

-- Its citizens are taxed at a rate of unprecedented hardship and sacrifice.

-- Its enemies have skillfully used international bodies and their own great economic power to try to turn world opinion against Israel.

-- And the momentum of peace started with an American initiative has been nearly halted by those nations and groups who know how critical peace is to Israel's security.

But it seems that a new element has been added to Israel's struggle for freedom during these troubled days.

I am deeply concerned that a series of Administration actions and attitudes over a brief period have given the impression that the United States is weakening its commitment to Israel.

I refuse to believe that this Administration deliberately seeks to call into question the basic American commitment to Israel at the most difficult time in its history. I refuse to believe that President Ford would knowingly abandon Israel. If this were to happen the stated policies of five American Presidents would be abruptly reversed.

But through inattention, inadvertence, and insensitivity, this Administration has taken steps which have the effect of eroding the historical bonds of trust and confidence between the United States and Israel. This erosion has been gradual. But it has been profound. It is alarming for the future of Israeli-American relations.

At this point let me state that I have absolutely no disagreement with the goal of securing the trust and friendship of the Arab world. In fact, I believe it to be imperative. But while we are pursuing this policy we should not forget that Israel for the United States cannot be regarded as just another nation among many nations in the Middle East.

We must declare without embarrassment and without apology that Israel has earned a special relationship with America.

The Arab world must understand that if it desires better relations with the United States, it must accept our good relations with Israel. No Administration should ever mislead any Arab leader to believe otherwise.

Whoever will be President next year should assure all nations that we are ready to have constructive and positive relations with them, but we will not do so if the price is ending our special relationship with Israel.

We must never forget that the world watches intensely what our nation does in the Middle East. The Soviets, Arab nations and the non-aligned follow our every move. We must never give the impression through our acts that we are relegating our relationship with Israel to a second place status. Perceptions in the world of diplomacy are as important as outright actions.

Let me review this record which causes me such great concern:

-- In October 1973, during a grave moment of the Yom Kippur War, the United States finally began resupply efforts only after incredible pressure was exerted by members of Congress on the Administration, using all of their muscle with President Nixon and Secretary Kissinger.

I shall never forget those critical first days of the war when we were not sure whether the U.S. would provide aid quickly to the embattled Israelis.

-- Prior to the Secretary's Sinai peace initiative, the Administration launched a "reassessment" of American policy which included a halt in the delivery of critical military items and needlessly and painfully increased Israel's apprehension at a moment of growing isolation.

Let me be frank about this reassessment. It followed the unwarranted, public scolding of Israel after the breakdown of the spring negotiations. Friends do not accuse one another in such a manner even at difficult times.

-- At the United Nations we have stood idly by on too many occasions while nations tried to humiliate Israel and impugn its motives.

-- For too many years the Administration countenanced an unjust and odious boycott of Israel by powerful corporations and Arab nations. And we still await an initiative from the Administration which will declare that the U.S. should use its power to enact and enforce laws which impose on American corporations a standard of conduct in their overseas dealing fully as strict as that required at home. It will be only at this moment that we say to the rest of the world that we will not participate in or tolerate an economic boycott of Israel or discrimination aimed at American citizens.

-- Finally, the President of the United States has threatened to veto a foreign aid appropriations bill if it contains funds for Israel allocated in conformance with our new Budget Act to cover a three month period called the "transition quarter."

Let me set the record straight. I telephoned Secretary Kissinger as Chairman of the Foreign Assistance Subcommittee on January 29, to determine the Administration's position on providing Israel with \$550 million in transition quarter funding. He told me that he personally approved such an idea but could not speak for the OMB.

Well, the OMB and the White House have spoken.

President Ford and the OMB have obviously overruled the Secretary of State. The President has lobbied House members personally to prevent Israel from receiving these funds. When he failed, he threatened a veto.

What good does it do for a Secretary of State to say, as he did on April 4, that "The United States will help keep Israel strong...", while the President threatens a veto of a bill containing funds vital to Israel's security. The two are a contradiction in terms.

Israel knows this.

The Congress understands this.

And the American people will not be fooled.

But this dangerous series of events which seems to weaken the American commitment to Israel continues unabated.

The Administration attempts to start a significant military relationship with Egypt only to be told directly by the Congress that we will not permit this to happen.

And let me say here that we must not undertake a full fledged military commitment to Egypt -- a commitment that can only increase the risk of war and pose a threat to peace.

I and my colleagues have no disagreement whatsoever in providing Egypt with the means necessary to better the lives of its people. This is the type of positive relationship which should be encouraged. I applaud the fact that neither Israel or this organization has ever opposed such assistance.

And the Administration is determined to sell vast quantities of arms to a great number of Israel's potential enemies if they just put the cash on the barrelhead.

The Ford Administration simply does not understand that actions which are perceived to weaken the American commitment to Israel will not bring peace to the Middle East. They can only bring confusion and postponement of peace. A final peace is all that Israel seeks -- a peace that will end the hatred and a peace that will provide security.

Why must Israel remain economically viable and militarily strong? For three simple reasons:

One, no Arab nation has recognized Israel or has expressed a great willingness to do so.

Two, no Arab nation has been willing to abandon the systematic scheme of boycott and diplomatic pressure on Israel.

And, three, no Arab leader has accepted Israel's invitation to come forward and negotiate directly.

A weak Israel with an uncertain relationship with the United States will not make sacrifices for peace in the face of the three factors I've just mentioned.

Nations take risks for peace when they are either very secure or extremely desperate.

I never want to see Israel make sacrifices and compromises for peace out of desperation. And the U.S. must never be a party to such an eventuality.

I call upon President Ford and Secretary Kissinger to act more prudently in the execution of American policy toward Israel.

Actions which are perceived to increase Israel's insecurity are not in the interest of peace in the Middle East. And they are inimical to our moral values.

The time has now come for the Administration to step back, to pause and to recognize the dangers which lie ahead if it continues to act with insensitivity and carelessness in our relations with Israel.

I am confident that if Israel is aided to overcome its severe economic problems and to remain strong, it will make sacrifices for peace. I believe that Israel has the moral courage and fortitude to grapple with the tough issues of the West Bank, the Palestinians and the problem of new settlements. But to ask that it do so in the absence of a full-fledged effort on our part is an unfair and unfriendly act.

It is difficult to discuss these issues without recalling my last visit to Israel's capital of Jerusalem just a short time ago. As I stood on the Judean foothills before the panorama of the City of David, I could see the Parliament, the Dome of the Rock, Mount Zion and the Old City. As I walked through the Jaffa Gate down the ancient cobblestones, I made my way to the Wailing Wall.

Standing before the holiest shrine of the people of Israel and Jews around the world, I was told that the people of Israel come to the Wall to lament over the destruction of the Second Temple, to shed spiritual tears for those who have given their lives in defense of Israel and the Jewish people.

For centuries tears and sorrow have marked Jewish existence. Jews have shed tears for the ancient exile, the Czar's pogroms. They have wept for the victims of Auschwitz, the heroes of Warsaw and the sons and fathers who died in defense of a united Jerusalem and a free, independent Israel in 1948, in 1956, again in 1967 and once again in 1973.

Too many tears have been shed throughout the centuries, too many young men have given their lives in defense of Israel's freedom and the right of Jews to be free wherever they live.

It is time to end the tears, to end Israel's pain, to restore her confidence and to bring her to peace for which she has fought for 28 years.

As Israel's anthem "Hatikvah" proclaims, once again the land of Israel must be filled with hope -- and with that hope she will prosper. When this comes to pass, people will rejoice for the miracle of Israel, whose people will make the desert bloom in security and in peace.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

MAY 3, 1976

IT IS A PLEASURE TO BE HERE, I AM HONORED TO HAVE THE  
PRIVILEGE TO ADDRESS YOU. *L* MY STAFF AND I WORK CLOSELY WITH

MORRIS AMITAY, KEN WOLLACK AND OTHERS IN AIPAC. THEY ARE DOING

A GOOD JOB AND YOU SHOULD BE PROUD OF THEIR EFFORTS.

*a good deal*  
*L* THERE HAS BEEN ~~LOTS~~ OF TALK LATELY ABOUT THE APPROPRIATENESS

OF THE KIND OF WORK THAT YOU ARE ENGAGED IN, AND MUCH OF THAT TALK

HAS BEEN DOWN-RIGHT SILLY AND UNINFORMED.

*L* COLUMNISTS AND EDITORIAL WRITERS HAVE WARNED US ABOUT "ETHNIC  
LOBBYING" -- ESPECIALLY IN THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS FIELD. *L* WE'VE HEARD

CARELESS AND EVEN RECKLESS THINGS ABOUT THE POWERFUL "JEWISH LOBBY",

THE GREEK LOBBY, THE TURKISH LOBBY, ETC, ETC.

*L* I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT I APPROVE OF WHAT YOU ARE DOING.

NOT ONLY BECAUSE I HAPPEN TO AGREE WITH THE PROGRAM THAT YOU ARE

ADVOCATING *but also*

~~BUT ABOVE ALL~~ BECAUSE I THINK IT IS GOOD FOR <sup>our</sup> ~~THIS~~ COUNTRY. His

Good FOR THE BASIC DEMOCRATIC PROCESS, THAT PEOPLE WHO HAVE  
CONVICTIONS ABOUT WHAT AMERICAN PUBLIC POLICY SHOULD BE, TAKE THE  
TIME TO GET THEIR FELLOW AMERICANS AND THEIR PUBLIC OFFICIALS TO  
UNDERSTAND WHAT THEY BELIEVE AND TO URGE THEIR SUPPORT.

IT WILL BE A SAD DAY FOR THIS COUNTRY WHEN ITS CITIZENS  
STOP USING THE PRECIOUS GUARANTEES IN THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO  
PETITION THEIR GOVERNMENT.

IF OIL PRODUCERS CAN SPEND MILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN THEIR  
LOBBYING EFFORTS TO GET SPECIAL TAX BREAKS -- IF SUGAR COMPANIES  
AND SHOE COMPANIES AND CLOTHING MANUFACTURERS CAN SEEK TRADE  
AND TARIFF AND QUOTA POLICIES THAT WILL BENEFIT THEM --

IF WORKERS CAN SEEK FAVORABLE LABOR LEGISLATION AND DOCTORS CAN WORK  
AGAINST NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE -- WHY CAN'T AMERICANS BE CONCERNED  
ABOUT THE CULTURAL OR PHYSICAL GENOCIDE OF THEIR CO-RELIGIONISTS  
AND RELATIVES IN THE SOVIET UNION OR IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

h THERE'S NOTHING NEW ABOUT LOBBYING ON BEHALF OF CAUSES

IN FOREIGN PLACES.,

h IT'S AS AMERICAN AS A HOT DOG, ~~OR APPLE PIE~~ -

*spaghetti,  
chicken or  
Polish Sausage*

h WE ARE A NATION OF IMMIGRANTS EVEN IN OUR TWO HUNDREDTH YEAR,

AND WE CARE ABOUT THE LANDS OF OUR FATHERS -- BE IT POLAND OR

ITALY OR RUSSIA -- BE IT ENGLAND OR IRELAND OR AFRICA.

h YOU HAVE EVERY RIGHT TO URGE THE CONGRESS AND THE ADMINISTRATION  
TO PURSUE POLICIES THAT YOU DEEM TO BE CORRECT.

NOW, I WANT TO TURN TO THE MAJOR TOPIC BEFORE US THIS  
EVENING.

L TWENTY-EIGHT YEARS AGO, ISRAEL'S FIRST PRIME MINISTER--THE  
BELOVED DAVID BEN GURION--PROCLAIMED TO THE WORLD THAT THE  
JEWISH PEOPLE HAVE A RIGHT TO A FREE AND INDEPENDENT NATION.

L AND THIS ~~NATION~~ <sup>Nation-Born</sup> NATION--A LAND OF IMMIGRANTS AND A LAND OF  
HOPE--REKINDLED THE ANCIENT JEWISH PRAYER, TO BE IN JERUSALEM  
AGAIN, TO RETURN AGAIN TO THE LAND OF THEIR FATHERS.

L ISRAEL REBORN WAS A POOR LAND WHICH AWAITED THE RICH IN SPIRIT  
TO RENEW THE COVENANTS BETWEEN A LAND AND ITS PEOPLE.

L ISRAEL REBORN WAS A SMALL NATION SURROUNDED BY HOSTILE  
NEIGHBORS WHO VOWED TO DESTROY IT AT THE VERY MOMENT OF INCEPTION.

L BUT THEY FAILED.

L FOR ISRAEL REBORN WAS NOT ALONE IN THE WORLD.

L THIS SMALL <sup>country</sup> ~~nation~~ WAS SUSTAINED BY THE SACRIFICES OF WORLD

JEWRY. L BEFRIENDED BY THE WORLD'S MOST POWERFUL DEMOCRACY -- THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA -- IT WENT ON TO WIN ITS STRUGGLE FOR

FREEDOM.

L WHY DID HARRY TRUMAN USE THE POWER AND PRESTIGE OF HIS GREAT

OFFICE TO BEFRIEND THE JEWISH STATE AND INAUGURATE A COMMITMENT WHICH

HAS BEEN CRUCIAL TO ISRAEL'S SECURITY?

L BECAUSE HARRY TRUMAN WAS A COMPASSIONATE AND MORAL MAN WITH A

DEEP SENSE OF HISTORY.

L HE SAW IN ISRAEL'S REBIRTH THE FULFILLMENT OF A BIBLICAL PROPHECY.

L HE SAW IN ISRAEL'S REBIRTH THE CREATION OF A DEMOCRACY AT A TIME

WHEN DEMOCRACY WAS THREATENED.

L AND HE SAW IN THE CREATION OF ISRAEL RELIEF AND HAVEN FOR A  
PEOPLE WHO HAD BEEN THE VICTIMS OF FASCIST TYRANNY.

L THERE IS A LESSON FOR US TODAY IN HARRY TRUMAN'S RECOGNITION  
OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

L IT WAS CLEAR FROM THIS AND OTHER POLICIES THAT TRUMAN PUT A  
PREMIUM ON SUPPORT OF DEMOCRACY.

L HE UNDERSTOOD THE NEED FOR THE UNITED STATES TO AID AND  
SUPPORT THOSE PEOPLE AND NATIONS WHO CHOSE TO FORM GOVERNMENTS GUIDED  
BY DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES.

L TODAY, AS IN HARRY TRUMAN'S TIME, THE PRESERVATION OF DEMOCRACIES  
MUST BE AT THE TOP OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY AGENDA -- IN ISRAEL, IN  
GREECE, IN PORTUGAL, IN JAPAN AND THE NATIONS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.

As AMBASSADOR PAT MOYNIHAN OBSERVED SO WELL IN HIS ALL TOO BRIEF  
TOUR AT THE U.N., THERE ARE SO FEW REAL DEMOCRACIES IN THIS WORLD  
THAT WE CAN NOT BE INDIFFERENT TO THEIR NEEDS AND THEIR PRINCIPLES.

WITHIN THE LIMITS OF OUR RESOURCES AND WITH OUR SECURITY  
OBJECTIVES CLEARLY DEFINED, DEMOCRACIES MERIT THE SUPPORT OF AMERICA.

FOR OUR DEMOCRATIC HERITAGE IS SHARED BY ISRAEL, OUR SYSTEM OF  
LIBERTY AND EQUALITY GIVES ISRAEL ITS NATIONAL VITALITY, AND

AMERICA'S LOVE FOR FREEDOM IS A CORNERSTONE OF ISRAEL'S INDEPENDENCE.

THESE VALUES ARE THE HERITAGE OF A DEMOCRATIC ISRAEL, THEY  
ARE THE VALUES OF OUR NATION AS WELL, AND WHETHER HERE IN AMERICA  
OR IN ISRAEL, WE MUST STAND FOR THEIR PRESERVATION AND PROTECTION.

WE MUST NEVER FORGET ISRAEL'S CLAIM TO MORAL RIGHT BASED IN  
ITS STRONG DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS.

Jews around the world have recently celebrated Passover -- a festival of Thanksgiving and Freedom. We must now look ahead and

ask:

Will Israel be free at next year's Passover?

Will Israel be free on its fiftieth anniversary and in the

years beyond?

To all Americans who believe in freedom, cherish it and who will sacrifice to preserve it, the answer must be YES!

But let us understand that preserving Israel's freedom will not be an easy task.

Today Israel celebrates its independence at a time of uncertainty over the true intentions of its neighbors, at a time of diplomatic isolation, and at a time of great economic hardship.

L-- ITS CITIZENS ARE TAXED AT A RATE OF UNPRECEDENTED HARDSHIP  
AND SACRIFICE.

L-- ITS ENEMIES HAVE SKILLFULLY USED INTERNATIONAL BODIES AND  
THEIR OWN GREAT ECONOMIC POWER TO TRY TO TURN WORLD OPINION AGAINST  
ISRAEL.

L-- AND THE MOMENTUM OF PEACE STARTED WITH AN AMERICAN INITIATIVE  
HAS BEEN NEARLY HALTED BY THOSE NATIONS AND GROUPS WHO KNOW HOW  
CRITICAL PEACE IS TO ISRAEL'S SECURITY.

L BUT IT SEEMS THAT A NEW ELEMENT HAS BEEN ADDED TO ISRAEL'S  
STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM DURING THESE TROUBLED DAYS.

L I AM DEEPLY CONCERNED THAT A SERIES OF ADMINISTRATION ACTIONS  
AND ATTITUDES OVER A BRIEF PERIOD HAVE GIVEN THE IMPRESSION THAT  
THE UNITED STATES IS WEAKENING ITS COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL.

I REFUSE TO BELIEVE THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION DELIBERATELY  
SEEKS TO CALL INTO QUESTION THE BASIC AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL  
AT THE MOST DIFFICULT TIME IN ITS HISTORY. I REFUSE TO BELIEVE THAT  
PRESIDENT FORD WOULD KNOWINGLY ABANDON ISRAEL. IF THIS WERE TO  
HAPPEN THE STATED POLICIES OF FIVE AMERICAN PRESIDENTS WOULD BE  
ABRUPTLY REVERSED.

BUT THROUGH INATTENTION, INADVERTENCE, AND INSENSITIVITY,  
THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS TAKEN STEPS WHICH HAVE THE EFFECT OF ERODING  
THE HISTORICAL BONDS OF TRUST AND CONFIDENCE BETWEEN THE UNITED  
STATES AND ISRAEL. THIS EROSION HAS BEEN GRADUAL BUT IT HAS  
BEEN PROFOUND. IT IS ALARMING FOR THE FUTURE OF ISRAELI-AMERICAN  
RELATIONS.

h AT THIS POINT LET ME STATE THAT I HAVE ABSOLUTELY NO  
DISAGREEMENT WITH THE GOAL OF SECURING THE TRUST AND FRIENDSHIP  
OF THE ARAB WORLD. h IN FACT, I BELIEVE IT TO BE IMPERATIVE. h BUT  
WHILE WE ARE PURSUING THIS POLICY WE SHOULD NOT FORGET THAT ISRAEL  
FOR THE UNITED STATES CANNOT BE REGARDED AS <sup>4</sup>JUST ANOTHER NATION  
AMONG MANY NATIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

h WE MUST DECLARE WITHOUT EMBARRASSMENT AND WITHOUT APOLOGY  
THAT ISRAEL HAS EARNED A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH AMERICA. (u)

h THE ARAB WORLD MUST UNDERSTAND THAT IF IT DESIRES BETTER  
RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES, IT MUST ACCEPT OUR GOOD RELATIONS  
WITH ISRAEL. No ADMINISTRATION SHOULD EVER MISLEAD ANY ARAB LEADER  
TO BELIEVE OTHERWISE.

↳ WHOEVER WILL BE PRESIDENT NEXT YEAR SHOULD ASSURE ALL NATIONS  
THAT WE ARE READY TO HAVE CONSTRUCTIVE AND POSITIVE RELATIONS WITH  
THEM, BUT WE WILL NOT DO SO <sup>at</sup> THE PRICE <sup>of</sup> ENDING OUR SPECIAL  
RELATIONSHIP WITH ISRAEL.

↳ WE MUST NEVER FORGET THAT THE WORLD WATCHES INTENSELY WHAT  
OUR NATION DOES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE SOVIETS, ARAB NATIONS AND  
THE NON-ALIGNED <sup>nations</sup> FOLLOW OUR EVERY MOVE. WE MUST NEVER GIVE THE  
IMPRESSION THROUGH OUR ACTS THAT WE ARE RELEGATING OUR RELATIONSHIP  
WITH ISRAEL TO A SECOND PLACE STATUS. PERCEPTIONS IN THE WORLD  
OF DIPLOMACY ARE AS IMPORTANT AS OUTRIGHT ACTIONS.

↳ LET ME REVIEW THIS RECORD WHICH CAUSES ME SUCH GREAT CONCERN:

-- IN OCTOBER 1973, DURING A GRAVE MOMENT OF THE YOM KIPPUR WAR,  
THE UNITED STATES FINALLY BEGAN RESUPPLY EFFORTS ONLY AFTER INCREDIBLE  
PRESSURE WAS EXERTED BY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ON THE ADMINISTRATION.

USING ALL OF THEIR MUSCLE WITH PRESIDENT NIXON AND SECRETARY  
KISSINGER.

L I SHALL NEVER FORGET THOSE CRITICAL FIRST DAYS OF THE WAR  
WHEN WE WERE NOT SURE WHETHER THE U.S. WOULD PROVIDE AID QUICKLY  
TO THE EMBATTLED ISRAELIS.

L-- PRIOR TO THE SECRETARY'S SINAI PEACE INITIATIVE, THE  
ADMINISTRATION LAUNCHED A "REASSESSMENT" OF AMERICAN POLICY WHICH  
INCLUDED A HALT IN THE DELIVERY OF CRITICAL MILITARY ITEMS AND  
NEEDLESSLY AND PAINFULLY INCREASED ISRAEL'S APPREHENSION AT A  
MOMENT OF GROWING <sup>international</sup> ISOLATION.

L LET ME BE FRANK ABOUT THIS REASSESSMENT. IT FOLLOWED THE  
UNWARRANTED, PUBLIC SCOLDING OF ISRAEL AFTER THE BREAKDOWN OF THE  
SPRING NEGOTIATIONS. L FRIENDS DO NOT ACCUSE ONE ANOTHER IN SUCH  
A MANNER EVEN AT DIFFICULT TIMES.

L-- AT THE UNITED NATIONS WE HAVE STOOD IDLY BY ON TOO MANY  
OCCASIONS WHILE NATIONS TRIED TO HUMILIATE ISRAEL AND IMPUGNED  
ITS MOTIVES.

L-- FOR TOO MANY YEARS THE ADMINISTRATION COUNTENANCED AN UNJUST  
AND ODIOUS BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL BY POWERFUL CORPORATIONS AND ARAB  
NATIONS. L AND WE STILL AWAIT AN INITIATIVE FROM THE ADMINISTRATION

WHICH WILL DECLARE THAT THE U.S. SHOULD USE ITS POWER TO ENACT  
AND ENFORCE LAWS WHICH IMPOSE ON AMERICAN CORPORATIONS A STANDARD  
OF CONDUCT IN THEIR OVERSEAS DEALING FULLY AS STRICT AS THAT

REQUIRED AT HOME. L IT WILL BE ONLY AT THIS MOMENT THAT WE SAY TO

THE REST OF THE WORLD THAT WE WILL NOT PARTICIPATE IN OR TOLERATE

AN ECONOMIC BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL OR DISCRIMINATION AIMED AT AMERICAN

CITIZENS

*of Jewish faith*

FINALLY, THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES HAS THREATENED  
TO VETO A FOREIGN AID APPROPRIATIONS BILL IF IT CONTAINS FUNDS  
FOR ISRAEL ALLOCATED IN CONFORMANCE WITH OUR NEW BUDGET ACT TO  
COVER A THREE MONTH PERIOD CALLED THE "TRANSITION QUARTER."

LET ME SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT. I TELEPHONED SECRETARY  
KISSINGER AS CHAIRMAN OF THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE SUBCOMMITTEE ON

JANUARY 29, TO DETERMINE THE ADMINISTRATION'S POSITION ON PRO-  
VIDING ISRAEL AND OTHER NATIONS WITH \$550 MILLION IN TRANSITION  
QUARTER FUNDING. HE TOLD ME THAT HE PERSONALLY APPROVED SUCH AN  
IDEA BUT COULD NOT SPEAK FOR THE OMB.

WELL, THE OMB AND THE WHITE HOUSE HAVE SPOKEN.

PRESIDENT FORD AND THE OMB HAVE OBVIOUSLY OVERRULED THE  
SECRETARY OF STATE. THE PRESIDENT HAS LOBBIED HOUSE MEMBERS  
PERSONALLY TO PREVENT ISRAEL FROM RECEIVING THESE FUNDS. WHEN  
HE FAILED, HE THREATENED A VETO.

WHAT GOOD DOES IT DO FOR A SECRETARY OF STATE TO SAY, AS HE DID ON APRIL 4, THAT "THE UNITED STATES WILL HELP KEEP ISRAEL STRONG...", WHILE THE PRESIDENT THREATENS A VETO OF A BILL CONTAINING FUNDS VITAL TO ISRAEL'S SECURITY. THE TWO ARE A CONTRADICTION IN TERMS.

ISRAEL KNOWS THIS.

THE CONGRESS UNDERSTANDS THIS.

AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL NOT BE FOOLED.

BUT THIS DANGEROUS SERIES OF EVENTS WHICH SEEMS TO WEAKEN THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL CONTINUES UNABATED.

THE ADMINISTRATION ATTEMPTS TO START A SIGNIFICANT MILITARY RELATIONSHIP WITH EGYPT ONLY TO BE TOLD DIRECTLY BY THE CONGRESS

THAT WE WILL NOT PERMIT THIS TO HAPPEN.

4 AND LET ME SAY HERE THAT WE MUST NOT UNDERTAKE A FULL FLEDGED  
MILITARY COMMITMENT TO EGYPT -- A COMMITMENT THAT CAN ONLY INCREASE  
THE RISK OF WAR AND POSE A THREAT TO PEACE.

4 I AND MY COLLEAGUES HAVE NO DISAGREEMENT WHATSOEVER IN PROVIDING  
EGYPT WITH THE MEANS NECESSARY TO BETTER THE LIVES OF ITS PEOPLE.

4 THIS IS THE TYPE OF POSITIVE RELATIONSHIP WHICH SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED.

4 I APPLAUD THE FACT THAT NEITHER ISRAEL OR THIS ORGANIZATION HAS  
EVER OPPOSED SUCH ASSISTANCE.

4 AND THE ADMINISTRATION IS DETERMINED TO SELL VAST QUANTITIES OF  
ARMS TO A GREAT NUMBER OF ISRAEL'S POTENTIAL ENEMIES IF THEY JUST  
PUT THE CASH ON THE BARRELHEAD.

4 THE FORD ADMINISTRATION SIMPLY DOES NOT UNDERSTAND THAT ACTIONS  
WHICH ARE PERCEIVED TO WEAKEN THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL  
WILL NOT BRING PEACE TO THE MIDDLE EAST.

h THEY CAN ONLY BRING CONFUSION AND POSTPONEMENT OF PEACE. A

FINAL PEACE IS ALL THAT ISRAEL SEEKS -- A PEACE THAT WILL END  
THE HATRED AND A PEACE THAT WILL PROVIDE SECURITY.

~~h~~  
h WHY MUST ISRAEL REMAIN ECONOMICALLY VIABLE AND MILITARILY

STRONG? FOR THREE SIMPLE REASONS:

h ONE NO ARAB NATION HAS RECOGNIZED ISRAEL OR HAS EXPRESSED  
A GREAT WILLINGNESS TO DO SO.

h TWO NO ARAB NATION HAS BEEN WILLING TO ABANDON THE  
SYSTEMATIC SCHEME OF BOYCOTT AND DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE ON ISRAEL.

h AND THREE NO ARAB LEADER HAS ACCEPTED ISRAEL'S INVITATION  
TO COME FORWARD AND NEGOTIATE DIRECTLY.

h A WEAK ISRAEL WITH AN UNCERTAIN RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED  
STATES WILL NOT MAKE SACRIFICES FOR PEACE IN THE FACE OF THE

THREE FACTORS I'VE JUST MENTIONED.

NATIONS TAKE RISKS FOR PEACE WHEN THEY ARE EITHER VERY  
SECURE OR EXTREMELY DESPERATE.

I NEVER WANT TO SEE ISRAEL MAKE SACRIFICES AND COMPROMISES  
FOR PEACE OUT OF DESPERATION AND THE U.S. MUST NEVER BE A PARTY  
TO SUCH AN EVENTUALITY.

I CALL UPON PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY KISSINGER TO ACT  
MORE PRUDENTLY <sup>+ Positively</sup> IN THE EXECUTION OF AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD ISRAEL.

ACTIONS WHICH ARE PERCEIVED TO INCREASE ISRAEL'S INSECURITY  
ARE NOT IN THE INTEREST OF PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND THEY ARE  
INIMICAL TO OUR MORAL VALUES.

THE TIME HAS NOW COME FOR THE ADMINISTRATION ~~TO STOP BACK~~ TO  
~~PAUSE AND~~ TO RECOGNIZE THE DANGERS WHICH LIE AHEAD IF IT CONTINUES  
TO ACT WITH INSENSITIVITY AND ~~CARELESSNESS~~ <sup>hesitant</sup> IN OUR RELATIONS WITH  
ISRAEL.

I AM CONFIDENT THAT IF ISRAEL IS AIDED TO OVERCOME ITS  
SEVERE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND TO REMAIN STRONG, IT WILL MAKE  
SACRIFICES FOR PEACE. I BELIEVE THAT ISRAEL HAS THE MORAL  
COURAGE AND FORTITUDE TO GRAPPLE WITH THE TOUGH ISSUES OF  
THE WEST BANK, THE PALESTINIANS AND THE PROBLEM OF NEW SETTLEMENTS,  
BUT TO ASK THAT IT DO SO IN THE ABSENCE OF A FULL-FLEDGED EFFORT  
ON OUR PART IS AN UNFAIR AND UNFRIENDLY ACT.

IT IS DIFFICULT TO DISCUSS THESE ISSUES WITHOUT RECALLING MY  
LAST VISIT TO ISRAEL'S CAPITAL OF JERUSALEM JUST A SHORT TIME AGO.

AS I STOOD ON THE JUDEAN FOOTHILLS BEFORE THE PANORAMA OF THE CITY  
OF DAVID, I COULD SEE THE PARLIAMENT, THE DOME OF THE ROCK, MOUNT  
ZION AND THE OLD CITY. AS I WALKED THROUGH THE JAFFA GATE DOWN  
THE ANCIENT COBBLESTONES, I MADE MY WAY TO THE WAILING WALL.

h STANDING BEFORE THE HOLIEST SHRINE OF THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL  
AND JEWS AROUND THE WORLD, I WAS TOLD THAT THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL  
COME TO THE WALL TO LAMENT OVER THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SECOND  
TEMPLE, TO SHED SPIRITUAL TEARS FOR THOSE WHO HAVE GIVEN THEIR  
LIVES IN DEFENSE OF ISRAEL AND THE JEWISH PEOPLE.

h FOR CENTURIES TEARS AND SORROW HAVE MARKED JEWISH EXISTENCE,

h JEWS HAVE SHED TEARS FOR THE ANCIENT EXILE, THE CZAR'S POGROMS,

h THEY HAVE WEPT FOR THE VICTIMS OF AUSCHWITZ, THE HEROES OF WARSAW

AND THE SONS AND FATHERS WHO DIED IN DEFENSE OF A UNITED JERUSALEM

AND A FREE, INDEPENDENT ISRAEL IN 1948, IN 1956, AGAIN IN 1967 AND  
ONCE AGAIN IN 1973.

h TOO MANY TEARS HAVE BEEN SHED THROUGHOUT THE CENTURIES, TOO MANY

YOUNG MEN HAVE GIVEN THEIR LIVES IN DEFENSE OF ISRAEL'S FREEDOM AND  
THE RIGHT OF JEWS TO BE FREE WHEREVER THEY LIVE.

IT IS TIME TO END THE TEARS, TO END ISRAEL'S PAIN, TO RESTORE  
HER CONFIDENCE AND TO BRING HER TO PEACE FOR WHICH SHE HAS FOUGHT  
FOR 28 YEARS.

AS ISRAEL'S ANTHEM "HATIKVAH" PROCLAIMS, ONCE AGAIN THE LAND  
OF ISRAEL MUST BE FILLED WITH HOPE -- AND WITH THAT HOPE SHE  
WILL PROSPER. WHEN THIS COMES TO PASS, PEOPLE WILL REJOICE  
FOR THE MIRACLE OF ISRAEL, WHOSE PEOPLE WILL MAKE THE DESERT  
BLOOM IN SECURITY AND IN PEACE.

# # # #



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